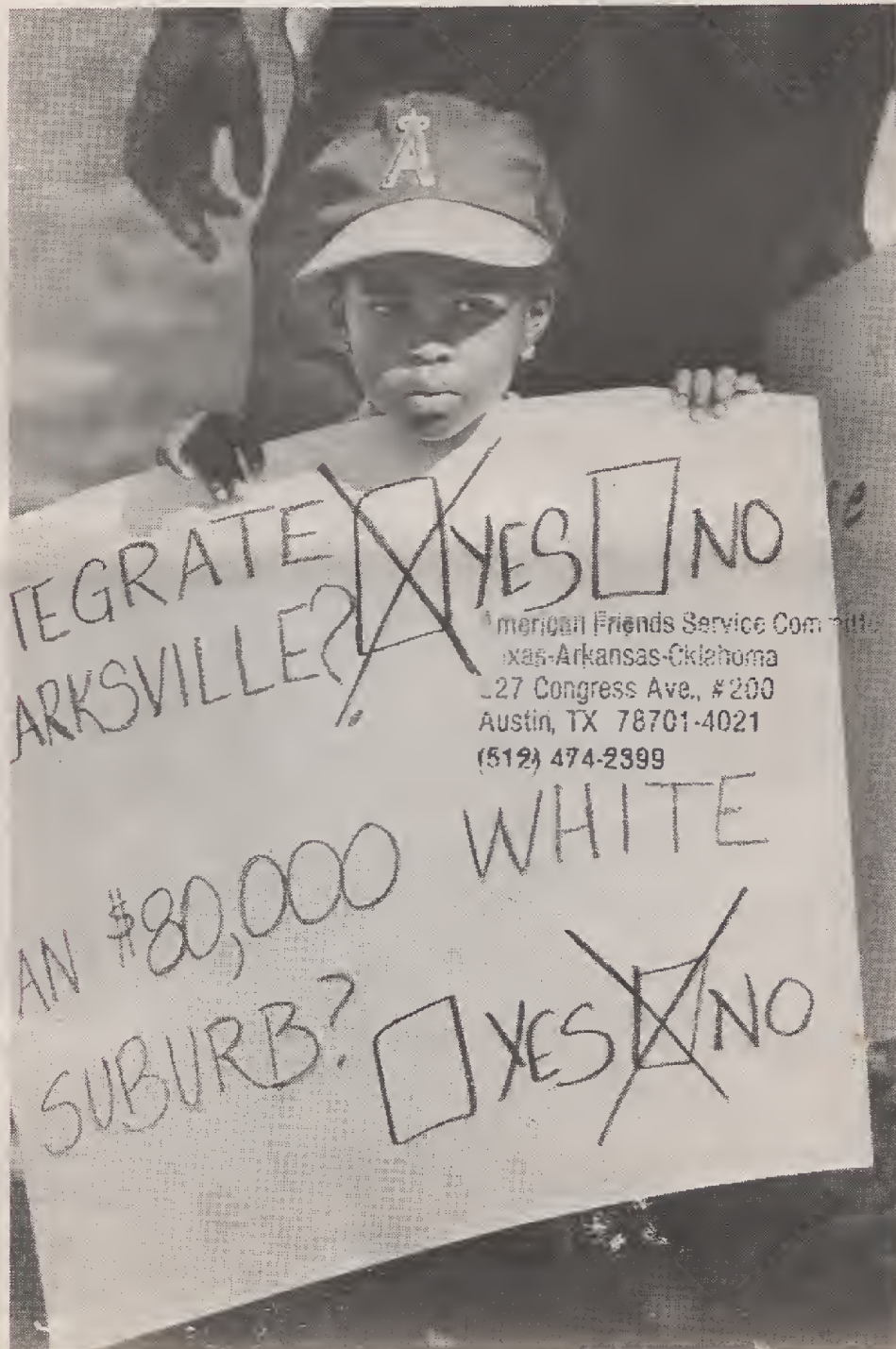


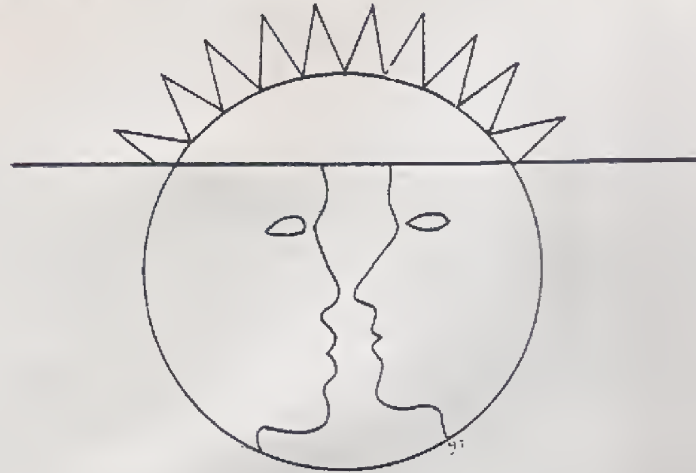
New American Movement summer '80
ANTI-RACISM BULLETIN



-photo by Scott Van Osdol

Miami: The Fire This Time

SPECIAL REPORT FROM MANNING MARABLE, FOLLOWING A TRIP TO LIBERTY CITY, CENTER OF THE BLACK REBELLION.



Miami's black community (only 15 percent of Dade County's 1.6 million people) was the first to shatter the calm facade dominating Afro-American political life since the mid-1970s. Few observers would have predicted this. Detroit's unemployment rate, for example, is almost twice the level of Miami's. Racial unrest had been more apparent in the cities of the industrial Northeast, where factory closings and the fiscal crisis of local governments have generated cutbacks in public sector jobs and critical social services. But for a variety of reasons, the political economy of racism in Miami made the city ripe for rebellion.

Like California and New York state, there is the old perception that there are in reality two Floridas, divided by economics, politics and culture. Northern Florida seems predominantly rural, agricultural and conservative in its social and political outlook. Southern Florida has been viewed as a haven for Northern retirees, an urban, liberal and cosmopolitan center of tourism and international commerce. Thirty years ago, Northern Florida was the bedrock of opposition to New Deal economic liberalism and racial reform. Claude Pepper, the state's leading progressive, lost two Senate bids in 1950 and 1958 respectively when he was trounced in the northern counties of the state. In 1964, Miami's Democratic Mayor Robert King High was denounced as "the candidate of the N.A.A.C.P." and lost the gubernatorial race to Jacksonville Republican Claude Kirk. Miami's heavily black and Jewish populations provided a solid constituency for Florida's liberal candidates; in the North, the cultural folk heroes were George Wallace and Lester Maddox.

Race riots were common and periodic occurrences in both sections of Florida. In 1921, a white mob gathered at Ocoee to stop blacks from registering to vote. In the end, historian G.B. Tindall observes, "Forty-four blocks of Negro property were reduced to rubble like that of a Rheims or a Louvain. In 1923 whites "ran amuck" through Rosewood, torching a black church, six houses, and leaving five blacks and two whites

cont.

Conference Forges Anti-Klan Network

"The seriousness of our present task simply cannot be overstated. A united extreme right is rising in America . . . This is a critical time because the same forces that hung my great grandfather in South Carolina are on the move again; the same forces that shot down Viola Liuzzo on a lonely Alabama road are on the march again; the same forces that sapped the life, but thank God never the pride and fight of Fannie Lou Hamer, are feeling a new sense of strength in America; the same forces that killed Emmett Till, that bombed four little Black girls in an Alabama church, and the same forces that got thrown out of the Lumbee reservation have seen fit to march in some other communities and they're on the move again; the same forces that killed five Communist Workers Party comrades, that beat up Ken Chastain, that murdered Dr. Martin Luther King are on the march again. These are the same forces that have colonized Puerto Rico, that overthrew the democratically elected Allende government, and that front loans to South Africa. We have to make the connections between all that, because this society is not going to make the connections for us."

(Opening Statement by Rev. Lucius Walker, IFCO)

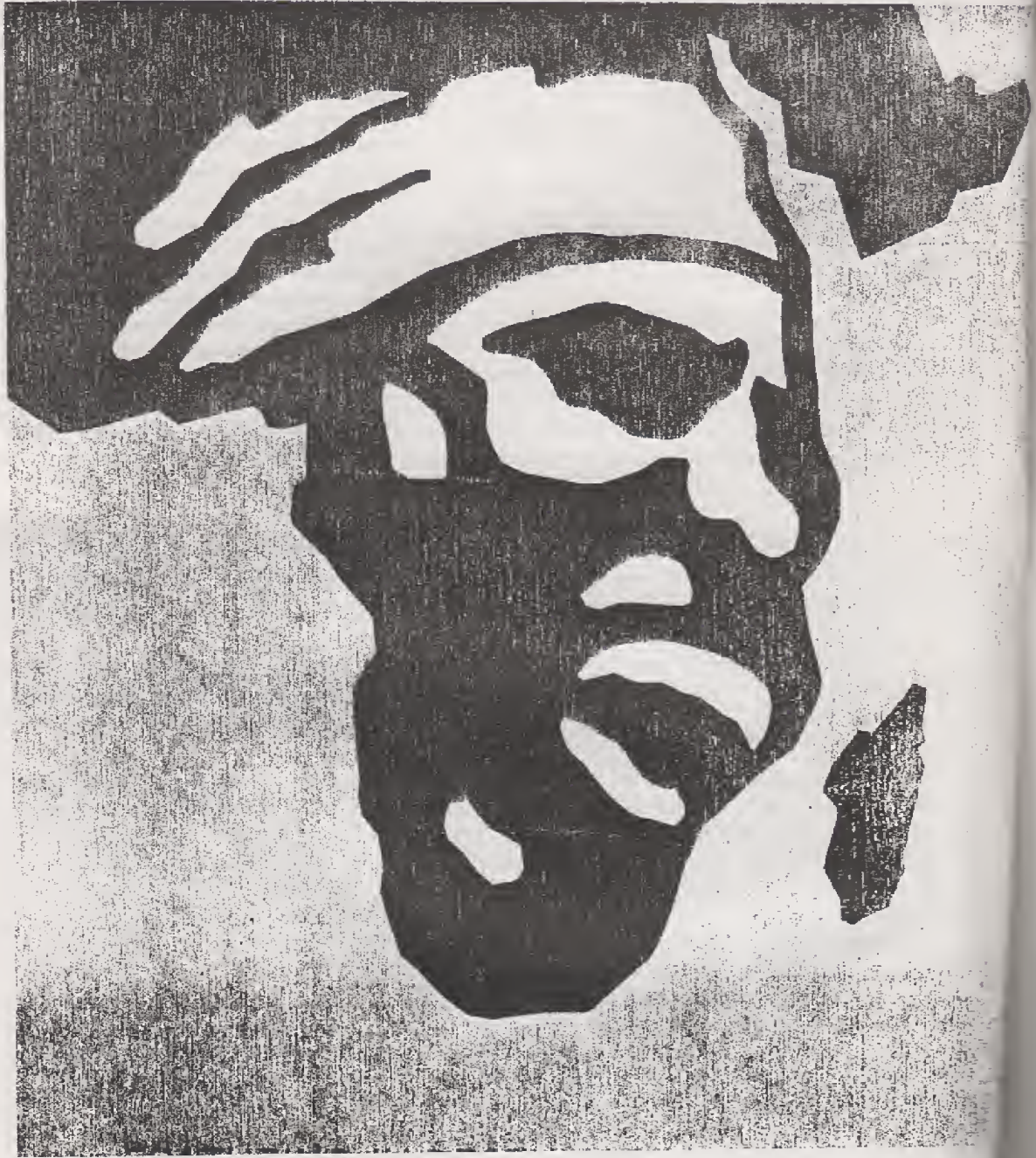
Over 300 participants from over 50 organizations--minority, civil rights, union, religious, and left organizations--met Dec. 14-15 in Atlanta to strategize on building a nationwide anti-Klan network.

The conference was sponsored by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and the Southern Christian Leadership (SCLC), the organization led by Martin Luther King until his death.

While most minority peoples were represented--Native American, Asian American, Chicano, and Latino groups attended--Black organizations predominated. Ed King from the Mississippi Freedom Party attended as did representatives from the Wilmington 10 Coalition, Southern Organizing Committee (headed by longtime civil rights activist Anne Braden); Southerners for Economic Justice, Southern Appalachian Ministry, a black rights local organization from Chester, South Carolina. Some 16 Catholic sisters attended from Tennessee and Kentucky, as well as several Catholic priests. Several unions were represented, although Gerry Conroy, a Tennessee priest active in community organizing against racism, said that no higher level union officials attended. David Miller of the United Electrical Workers led a Labor Caucus discussion at the conference. Several left organizations were present, including NAM, DSOC, the Communist Party, Workers World Party, and perhaps most visible was the Communist Workers Party, who had 5 members killed by the Klan during an anti-KKK rally in Greensboro, N.C. Both Conroy and Jo Klas, a Catholic sister who attended, said that the CWP had a strong presence but did not try to dominate the

(cont. p.17)

ZIMBABWE : The Real Struggle



-graphic from Black Scholar, 9/73

Now Begins

by MANNING MARABLE

As most foreign observers predicted, Robert Mugabe and his "Marxist" forces in the Patriotic Front won a majority of the black seats in the recent parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia. The size of Mugabe's victory took almost everyone by surprise, however; Mugabe's supporters won 57 seats in the 100 member Parliament, enough for Mugabe to be named Prime Minister-designate without the endorsement of his former ally, Patriotic Front leader Joshua Nkomo.

Across Africa and throughout most politically informed Afro-American circles, the Mugabe victory was met with intense satisfaction and resounding joy. The long guerrilla war between the Patriotic Front and the racist regime of former Prime Minister Ian Smith had at last ended. The puppet government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, established last year to preserve white control over the central bureaucracy and economic institutions of Zimbabwe, was defeated in a democratic general election. The only notable black American who received the news of Mugabe's victory with great displeasure was conservative columnist Bayard Rustin, who promptly registered his "sour grapes" in the pages of the Wall Street Journal.

Missing from most accounts of the news from Zimbabwe, however, was any detailed historical understanding of the roots of the conflict between the African nationalists and the white settlers. More important still was the lack of commentary on white South African perceptions of Mugabe's victory.

The real guerrilla struggle between whites and blacks in Zimbabwe began in 1893, shortly after the representatives of a commercial company, the British South Africa Company, settled the territory. In 1893 and again in 1896-97, Africans fought the colonial expansion of white settlement. These early black protests were vigorously suppressed.

The first national election in the colony of Rhodesia occurred in 1923, when white voters severed their dependence on the British South Africa Company and opted for responsible government. Eventually the nation was transformed into a self-governing colony under a British governor. Technically, the British government retained the right to discourage and even to void any legislation which discriminated against the black population. But in practice, this meant that several thousand white settlers would have unchallenged rule over several million Africans.

In 1915, Africans were said to live in an area of about 24 million acres in Rhodesia. White immigrants were granted 3000-acre farms per single family, but began to demand even greater amounts of land. The result was the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, which limited the amount of African-held land to 7 million

(cont. p.9)

BLACK ASSEMBLY REORGANIZES

NBPA Plans Convention

One hundred and ten delegates, largely from Pennsylvania and Ohio, met in November in Pittsburgh to renew efforts to build the National Black Political Assembly into a national independent black political organization. The National Assembly entered into a period of dormancy after the '76 election, with an unsuccessful effort to field an independent black political candidate for President.

Despite the disappearance of the Assembly at a national level, executive committee member Manning Marable said in an interview after the meeting, that there has been slow but sustained growth of several Assemblies at the city and state level. "At the local level," Marable said, "there is a real space for developing an independent anti-corporate or proto-socialist black political formation." Local Assemblies are currently thriving in Pittsburgh, Columbus, New Orleans, Dayton, Youngstown, Baton Rouge, and Philadelphia.

According to Marable the renewed interest in rebuilding the Assembly into a national organization has been generated out of "the almost total void in national black politics." Also Marable said that many cultural nationalists are moving toward a democratic socialist approach. "Ron Karenga, who was the high priest of cultural nationalism in '75 is now writing for In These Times." Marable sees the possibility of a new consensus developing for an independent anti-corporate black politics, "with a significant democratic socialist wing," Marable added.

The Assembly is also recruiting some people who stayed on the sidelines of black political organizing in the 70's. Marable said that these newer political activists are bringing some very good energy into the Assembly. People such as Barbara Sizemore, formerly of D.C., now teaching at the University of Pittsburgh, and Ronald Waters, who has authored many articles on black politics in the 60's and 70's, are now serving on the executive committee.

The Assembly will be putting a high priority on recruitment of women into the decision-making for the organization. The New Orleans Assembly has a Black Women's Assembly which produces a monthly educational journal.

Discussion at the November meeting focused on plans for a national convention in New Orleans in August of 1980, to begin to construct an independent political presence for black people.

Marable sees two chief problems confronting the National Assembly: (1) the lack of resources to develop political ideas and strategy at the national level, and (2) the relationship between the Democratic Party and the Assembly.

(cont. p.13)

Coalition Demands Welfare Head's Ouster

A women's coalition has formed in Austin to call for the resignation of Hilmar Moore, state Welfare Department Board member. In March, Moore stated to the press that he favored sterilization of women on welfare to ease the taxpayer's burden.

Two members of the coalition debated Moore on a nationally televised segment of the Today Show April 28. The coalition also organized a protest at the April Board meeting of the Welfare Department. Women took over the meeting, gave testimony on the racist and anti-human nature of Moore's statement, and called for him to resign.

Below is a letter to the editor, written by NAM member Glenn Scott, approved by the Coalition and printed in the local newspaper.



Dear Editor:

Hilmar Moore, Chair of the Board of Texas Department of Human Resources, in his recent statements that he favors sterilization of women on welfare, shows a vast ignorance of the welfare system which he represents.

The welfare system is an admission that our economic system cannot provide decent jobs and a decent life for all the people. Because of this inability to deliver and because of people's demands over many years, the federal government instituted welfare as a limited compensation to those who have been denied access to the resources to make a decent life for themselves and their children.

Certainly taxes are hitting middle and moderate income taxpayers harder and harder these days. Taxes in our society are very unequally apportioned, with working people bearing a far greater burden than the wealthy and the corporations. To sterilize poor women as a solution to taxpayers burden is not only inhuman and racist, but also blames the victims of injustice rather than the cause.

If Moore were truly concerned with unfair taxes, he would be calling for equitable taxation of corporations and the wealthy. He would also be calling for an end to race discrimination in the hiring and promotion of minority people in Texas.

I believe that Moore, who blames poor people, especially women, for poverty and indirectly gets corporations and the wealthy off the hook, should go to work for a corporation and stop masquerading as a representative of poor people.

Glenn Scott



PITTSBURGH

INNER CITY ENERGY

'Listen, we could get burned'

One way of carrying out anti-racist work is to integrate it with other ongoing political organizing. Pittsburgh NAM helped establish the Pennsylvania Alliance for Jobs and Energy, which organizes around energy and utility issues in the Pittsburgh area. PAJE was formally established as a structured organization less than two years ago, although many of its constituents had been involved previously in utility rate campaigns catalyzed by NAM's People's Power Project. Its active membership is drawn largely from working class inner city neighborhoods within the city of Pittsburgh, although there is substantial participation from senior citizen's groups, labor unions, and anti-nuclear activists from a wider area of western Pennsylvania.

From its inception PAJE has been approximately equally divided between blacks and whites in both its membership and the composition of its leadership structures, and there has been a conscious effort to reflect that racial balance in its visible spokespeople. The issues PAJE selects are designed to build a multiracial popular movement. These have included holding down residential utility bills, securing financial assistance in meeting fuel bills for people on low or fixed incomes, weatherizing homes, and providing jobs for the city's unemployed. While these issues relate directly to the needs of inner city neighborhoods, they are not posed against the interests of other working class and middle class constituencies. PAJE has also struggled for legislation against runaway shops, for the interests of small businesses threatened by corporate expansion, and demonstrated an interest in the demands of utility workers. On the state level, PAJE cooperates with environmentalist and anti-nuclear groups, labor unions, and community organizations from around the

(cont. from p.7)

state. Again PAJE tries to build the broadest coalitions, while remaining responsive to the particular needs of its immediate constituency in black and white inner city neighborhoods.

Among many other problems PAJE has struggled with, two in particular relate to its interracial character. Currently 4 out of the 5 staff members are white, and it has been difficult to replace a black organizer who resigned to run for City Council. Another has been the slowness in developing new leaders beyond the original core group, which forces overreliance on a relatively small number of visible people and places a heavy burden on a couple of black leaders in particular. NAM has argued for strengthened task forces and working committees where leadership can be nurtured away from the tensions of the public confrontations that make up most of PAJE's public presence.

PAJE has already demonstrated considerable political influence at the local level, and exerted pressure even at the level of the state legislature and Public Utility Commission. It may well become a major rallying point for the stabilization of an enduring interracial progressive politics in Pittsburgh.

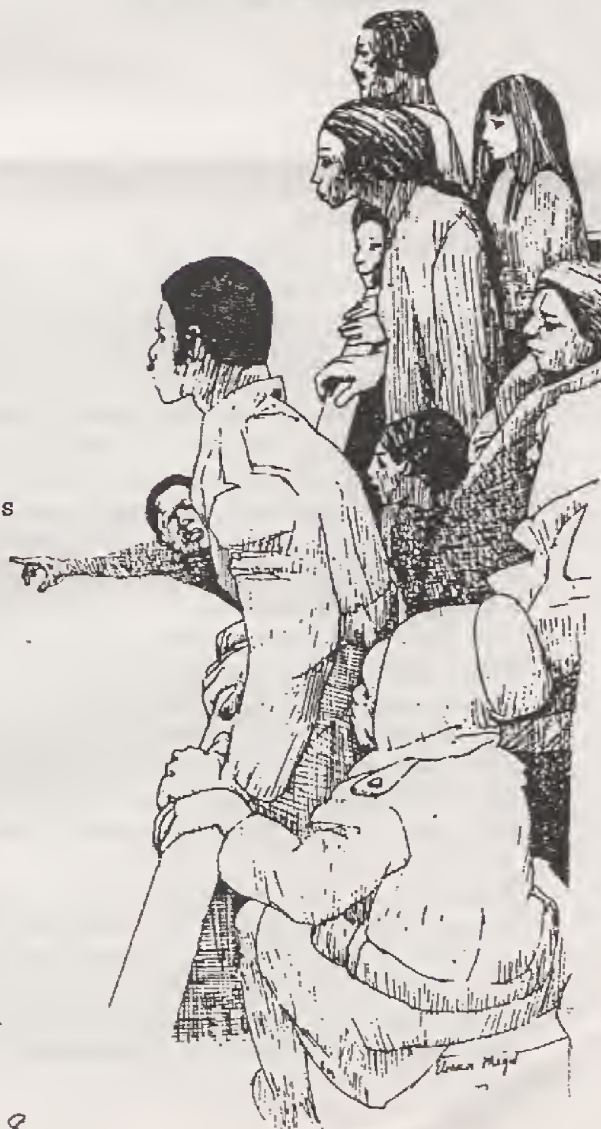
-Paul Garver

About 140 protestors culled from the ranks of 18 community, union and political organizations gave up watching the first few innings of the Pirates-Orioles game to present demands to 6 political candidates last week.

The Pennsylvania Alliance for Jobs and Energy(PAJE) representatives Paul Garver(Service Employees Union local 585), Julie Stewart(South Oakland Citizens Council) and Dan Chappel(Hill Dist. Citizens Development Corp.) scored the local legislators for "failing to come up with a local response to the energy crisis."

The group's demands were a rollback of heating price rates; an end to heat shut-offs of customers who can't pay heating bills; and that the candidates appear at a PAJE meeting on home winterization programs...

-Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh
Black community newspaper, 10/79





ZIMBABWE

(cont. from p.4)


acres, amounting to only 6 acres of land per African in the territory. As the African population grew from one to six million by the 1960's, the demand for land became the central concern of militant African protest leaders in Zimbabwe.

When white Rhodesian leaders declared their "unilateral declaration of independence" from Great Britain in November, 1965, the black struggle for land was elevated to the level of a war for national liberation. The government of Ian Smith initiated a new Land Tenure Act in 1969 which forcibly removed thousands of black families from lands allotted to whites. Simultaneously the Smith regime eliminated blacks from the common voters roll. Thus, white supremacy in politics was tied directly to white supremacy over the land.

The victory of the Patriotic Front in the last month's election was a vote for peace and the construction of a new democratic, biracial government. Such a state can only exist when the economic basis for the racial confrontation--the ownership of the land and all its resources--is redistributed to the African majority. Mugabe must be prepared to weather the storm of white opposition, from white South Africa and the U.S. government, in returning the land to its rightful owners.

To date, there are some indications that Mugabe may not be prepared to engage in this kind of struggle. Indeed, some South African officials have concluded privately that Mugabe's "socialist" government would be less likely to attract Western capi-

-graphic design from "...AND THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA", a drama premiered by SHAPE Community Center in Houston, April 1980. Written by Thomas Meloncon; director, Lindi Yeni; choreographer, Melissa McWilliams. For more information, call 713/521-0629.



tal investment than a regime led by either Muzorewa or Nkomo. Subsequently, Zimbabwe would become economically a vassal or dependent state of South Africa, receiving most of its food, technology, and financial assistance from the apartheid regime.

Mugabe has already declared publicly that his new government would not give bases to black guerrillas fighting against apartheid in South Africa. Only hours after Mugabe's victory, Brian Grubb, president of the all-white Rhodesia Chamber of Commerce pledged his support to him. One bank director, Sir Henry Macdowall, declared that Mugabe would eventually "appreciate the value of maintaining a viable free-market economy" dominated by whites.

From the vantage point of African history, Mugabe's recent electoral success must be seen as but a brief moment for satisfaction. The dictatorship of the Smith government has ended. But the real cause of the strife, the inability of African people to control their own socio-economic strategies for development, still festers. Last month's victory of the Patriotic Front amounts to the beginning of the real struggle for black power in southern Africa.

Dr. Manning Marable teaches history and political economy at the Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University. He is the author of a book on black politics, From The Grassroots, and is a leader of the National Black Political Assembly.

Citizen Review of Police

A broad coalition of community and political organizations, ranging from the Coalition Against Police Abuse to the ACLU to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has launched a campaign to place an initiative on the November 1980 ballot to create a citizens' police review board for the city of Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Police Department has a long, sorry history of unwarranted killings of innocent people, particularly in minority communities. It was the killing of Eulia Love a year ago over an unpaid utility bill that finally galvanized community outrage to organize the initiative petition campaign.

The proposal, if passed by Los Angeles voters, would create a full-time, salaried 15-person police review board, with one member selected from each city council district. The board would have exclusive jurisdiction over complaints against the police involving unnecessary or excessive use of force, harrassment, abusive or discriminatory practices based on race, sex, or sexual preference, violations of civil rights and illegal surveillance. Complaint centers would be set up in each district and board members would be required to hold monthly community assemblies to insure responsiveness to community needs.

The coalition must obtain 116,000 valid signatures of registered voters in the city of Los Angeles by June to qualify for the November ballot. This campaign will be a major focus of anti-racist work in LA for the coming months. It is also receiving substantial support from the feminist, gay and lesbian communities. Los Angeles NAM is giving top priority to the petition drive.

--Bob Niemann



Thoughts on Greensboro

by William Johnson
NAAM member, Moss Point, Miss.

What follows is a very thought-provoking report on the anti-Klan rally in Greensboro on Feb. 2, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The report raises some questions about how to do anti-Klan protest work, which I feel will be very important to discuss further at the National Convention. --GS

David Curry and I and a group of people from Mobile, Ala., attended the recent anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, N.C. Organizers of the event claimed 7,000 people, though I would still tend to think that estimate a bit high. Even so it was the largest rally I have seen in the South in many, many years.

Before the march began one of our party became ill and couldn't march. I drove her to the rally site and then walked back to join the marchers. While walking back I entered a few stores and talked to people I met along the street. On the whole the place was deserted as most people feared violence. Those I did talk to ranged in opinion of the marchers from hostile to livid.

At the march itself about a third of the marchers were blacks from the surrounding area and neighboring states. For the most part they seemed distressed by the "I'm more revolutionary than you" posturing of the seemingly numberless small sect groups. Beyond these groups was another third of non-affiliated people, many of them young and for many this was their first demonstration.

The Socialist Workers Party was there in force and on the whole participated in a disciplined, principled manner. They had large literature tables at both ends of the march, scores of people out hawking their papers and a number of attractive and appropriate banners and signs.

That's about the only good thing I can say about the leftist elements. The rest came with hundreds of more signs and banners than they had members and did their best to get the unattached young people to carry them and march in their group.

From the very large number of people from such groups as the Revolutionary Socialist League of Chicago, the Communist Workers Party, and other groups so small I had never even heard of before, I can guess that this march was a major activity on their parts and that they brought every member they could.

These groups then spent the rest of the rally and march trying to out-shout and out-macho the other groups. Attempts at keeping order in the line of march were difficult, if not impossible, because of such groups constantly trying to maneuver their banners and signs to catch the maximum media coverage and at the same time hide the banners and signs of the other groups.

cont. p.13

The organizers of the march attempted to project a "strength through unity" theme. Most of these groups, through their literature and slogans, tried to project an image of their group as the meanest fuckers on the street who were going to whomp lots of Nazi/Klan/police ass.

The police, who were almost arm and arm around the march, received a lot of abuse from these people, a move I don't feel was tactically all that bright. Those members of the police who were Klansmen had their juiciest fantasies of commie pinko extremists confirmed and those policemen who were not Klansmen and were truly risking their lives to protect the marchers were insulted and angered to the extreme. (cont. p.14)



NBPA

In response to the first, Marable will be editor of the Black Agenda, the Assembly's national publication, the first issue to be published in March. Also, the Black Scholar has asked Ron Daniels, President of the Assembly, and Ronald Waters, on the Executive Committee, to submit articles for the Spring issue on Black Politics.

Although the first problem seems a big one, Marable indicates that the second seems even more monumental. "We are dealing with the hegemony of the Democratic Party over black folks in the U.S."

"I believe that an economic platform for the Assembly will have to incorporate, at least implicitly, a socialist approach." However, Marable also recognized that it would also be essential short-term programs that can begin to bring relief to black people now.

Marable also stressed the importance of local Assemblies working with local progressive white organizations. In Dayton, NAM and the local Assembly have co-sponsored a symposium on black politics, speaking engagements, and studies on community development.

For more information on the Assembly, or to subscribe to the Black Agenda, write Manning Marable, c/o Africana Studies, Cornell University, 310 Triphammer Rd., Ithaca NY 14850

To return to the organizers of the rally. The SCLC did a very good job, with good organization, medical vans, hot coffee, and numerous marshals, plus media and legal advisers.

David and I had brought with us three people who were fairly new to Left events like this. Talking with them on the way back from the rally, they were all impressed by the turn-out, the color and pageantry of the march, and were happy they had been there to protest the Klan. But they also expressed an uneasiness about the rally. None could identify why at first, but after further talk all eventually said the sectarian leftist posturing had disturbed them very much and they felt isolated from the left in general as a result.

Fortunately we had a long drive back in a small car and had a lot of time to talk things through. I mention this primarily because I believe if these three had gone to the rally by themselves and returned by themselves this might very well have been the last political event they took part in for another 10 years.

So, in conclusion, I believe the freak show of the sectarian groups at Greensboro will help drive some borderline people into the Klan. It will disillusion many who were just taking their first political steps and it may drive a wedge of distrust between blacks and white revolutionaries as it clearly showed that these groups were more concerned with their own image than with what kind of climate they would leave behind--a climate in which the blacks would have to live.

Judy and I have discussed the march and we feel the main question is: "What should NAM's response be to such events in the future?"

(cont. p. 15)

We Shall Not Be Moved

A new slide-tape program on inner-city displacement produced by Dayton Community Media Project.

We Shall Not be Moved is the story of a low and moderate income, multi-racial community in Cincinnati that is fighting displacement by developers and city planners. Their story is one that is being played out in many U.S. cities today.

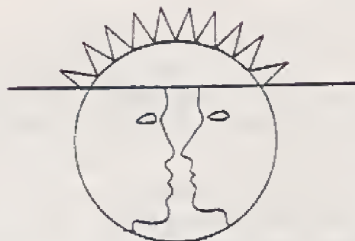
Excellent for community organizations, elderly, tenant organizations, black organizations, community development corporations.

The show is spirited, yet informative, and excellent for initiating discussions of similar problems in your city.



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killed. In one celebrated incident during the Great Depression, a black man accused of murdering a white girl in the North Florida town of Marianna was seized by a white mob out of jail. A "carnival of sadism" followed, as whites tortured, sexually mutilated and finally slowly murdered the man. After dragging the corpse through the streets and after encouraging the town's white children to inflict "further indignities," it was finally hanged on the courthouse lawn.

The reasons for sporadic violence against blacks were, in varying degrees, economic and political. North Florida's booming lumber and turpentine camps depended heavily upon black peonage or forced labor that differed little from chattel slavery. Under a Florida state law of 1919, "any person who promised or contracted labor and refused to perform it after an advance was guilty of a misdemeanor." The state government, legal and police systems were objectively on the side of the corporations, some of whom engaged in a form of convict leasing through the Second World War. Thus, many Northern Florida blacks saw Miami as a relatively safe and politically progressive community, where they could exercise their right to vote without fear and find employment without Jim Crow restrictions.

The North vs. South dichotomy began to break down about ten to fifteen years ago, due to rapidly changing demographic, political and economic realities. Central Florida cities like Orlando began to draw tourist dollars from older resort towns like Miami. The affluent gulfport region of Tampa

cont. p.18

(cont. from p.14)

Ideally I think the SWP strategy is best--lots of people, lots of literature, principled, comradely participation.

On a very real level I believe these rallies can do little in terms of changing opinions. That is a job for long, hard community work where a sense of mutual trust and understanding can be developed. The only thing a rally like this is good for is bringing a lot of people together at one time and place. As the marching and shouting leaves no time for real discussion the best way to reach these people is with leaflets or, better yet, publications such as Moving On which they can take home and read later.

What all this means is I believe NAM should send as large a group as economically possible to such demos to "show the flag" but that their main goal should be outreach through handouts and papers and with what talking they can squeeze in.

--William Johnson
NAM member
Moss Point, Miss.



San Antonio Anti KKK March Draws 400

In San Antonio Jan. 19 about 400 people marched against the KKK, and to protest a ban on all demonstrations imposed by city officials in the wake of the Shah's stay in San Antonio.

The March, initiated by the San Antonio Coalition Against the KKK, was a response to the Klan and other right wing threats against Iranians who were protesting the presence of the Shah. The Klan had threatened to attack Iranians if the City Council granted the Iranians a parade permit. The Council then proceeded to ban all demonstrations, using the reasoning that if the Klan threatened violence, then the Iranians could not guarantee that their march would be peaceful. Five Iranians held a sit-in at City Hall to protest this clear violation of free speech. The Klan and other right wing elements organized a mob which booed, threatened, and spit at the Iranians until the police dragged the five protestors away and jailed them. No others were arrested.

The KKK has also been active in opposing a public housing site in a middle income white neighborhood in north San Antonio. A Klan spokesman also appeared at a similar hearing in November in Fort Worth.

The March was endorsed by groups and individuals from around the state, including Austin Brown Berets, Austin NAM, Houston Workers World Party, National Lawyers Guild, Raza Unida Party leader Jose Angel Gutierrez, and state Representative Mickey Leland of Houston.

March organizers Tom Soto of the Workers World Party and Antonio Cabral of El Pueblo Collective felt that the march was a big success. Both said that the march, in challenging the ban, broke the sense of fear that many people and organizations felt in the face of a visible Klan resurgence.

"Despite Klan threats," Cabral said, "the march was carried out without incident. We feel that it has shown the people that the threats of the KKK and the complicity of the city must be met with active public resistance."

proceedings.

Several persons attended who had been the direct victims of Klan violence. One man was still carrying a bullet--too close to his heart to be removed--from a Klan attack on an anti-Klan rally in Alabama.

Workshops were held on "Media and the KKK," "The Church and the Klan," "Unions and the KKK," "Doing Anti-Klan Research," and "Building Anti-Klan Coalitions."

Conroy was very positive about the conference. "It's the beginning of a coalition effort of left groups, including the CWP and other left groups, civil rights groups, church and minority organizations...such a coalition would not have been possible 10 or 15 years ago (because of anti-communism)."

The CWP had originally not accepted any civil rights groups' offers of a colation effort in the funeral march. But according to Conroy, they appear to have realized they have made mistakes. "Even though they had 5 members shot down in the streets, they

"If anybody had any doubts that there is an alarming resurgence of the Klan, and that there must be a major effort to mobilize opposition, the Atlanta conference convinced everybody."

--Gerry Conroy, priest and community organizer

have not been able to build a sufficient base." Conroy said that, at least at the conference, the CWP appeared to be willing to work in a coalition.

The CWP circulated a proposal at the conference to make the "CWP 5" case the focal point of the anti-Klan and anti-reaction struggle. The conference however, substantially changed the direction of the CWP proposal. After much debate a resolution was approved with only 2 dissenting votes. The resolution called for the coalition to come under the umbrella leadership of the SCLC, and to call for a February 2 anti-Klan march in Greensboro, N.C. in commemoration of the Woolworth lunch counter sit downs that spearheaded the civil rights movement in the 50's. All press conferences and major public outreach for the rally would be coordinated by SCLC. Conroy said that there was a clear sentiment for the resolution in order to prevent the CWP and other similar organizations from trying to manipulate everyone's efforts as "their own issue."

The resolution emphasized that the approach to organizing against the Klan must be non-violent, broad-based and have a multi-issue focus. Even though the resolution was clearly in opposition to the ultra-militant approach of the CWP, both Conroy and Klas indicated that there was not any substantive floor debate and criticism of the different approaches to fighting the Klan.

Conroy said that a multi-faceted approach in organizing against the Klan was stressed throughout the conference. Suggestions for local coalitions included exposing KKK organizing in high schools, investigating KKK organizing in prisons and military, developing educational materials for schools and church groups on the role of the KKK and its history. Conference speakers emphasized that the real victims of the KKK are not just Blacks, but all racial minorities, women, the elderly, Jews, Catholics, gay people, and people on welfare. "To approach the KKK as a purely race oriented group is to miss its significance," said Conroy. //

Bay, combined with the rapid fiscal expansion of Jacksonville, gave the entire state a more uniformly urban caste. The demise of segregation laws in the mid-to-late 1960s meant that blacks in Northern Florida could exercise their Constitutional rights without being beaten or imprisoned. New South politicians in the Jimmy Carter-mold, like Reuben Askew of Pensacola and Lawton Chiles of Lakeland, combined a populist style with a pro-corporate economic agenda to transcend the traditional regional split. In the 1972 Senate race, for example, Chiles carried away every white precinct in both Jacksonville and Miami--doing poorly only in both cities' black communities. The growing influx of anti-Castro Cubans in the late 1950s and early 1960s neutralized the growing influence of the black vote in local and statewide politics.

Recent economic trends in Dade County reinforced the prevailing sense within the black community that it was gradually losing whatever influence it had acquired in earlier decades. In the most recent recession of 1973-1975, the percentage of black men over the age of 16 in Miami who worked throughout the year (72 percent) was consistently below the percentage of white men (75.2 percent), the overall regional average (79.2 percent) and the national average (81.9 percent). In terms of unemployment, blacks experienced twice the rate of joblessness as whites.

The present crisis in Miami's race relations must be viewed against this background of the black community's declining economic prospects and the influx of a highly mobile and economically competitive ethnic bloc (Cubans). Yet even with these factors taken into account, no rebellion would have occurred this May--without a series of legal blunders and miscarriages of justice at the hands of the Dade County Prosecutor's office. The missing element to a racial confrontation was provided by the failure of democracy of Florida's judicial and law enforcement systems.

Long before McDuffie, a series of incidents occurred to spark the outrage of the black community. In early 1979, Dade County police invaded the home of Nathaniel LaFleur, a school teacher. Supposedly in pursuit of a drug dealer, the police beat LaFleur and his son viciously and charged both men with resisting arrest. Later it was announced that Dade County officers had raided the wrong address. County Prosecutor (State Attorney) Janet Reno, a member of the N.A.A.C.P. and a well-known "liberal" Democrat, concluded that the officers should not be brought to trial. Only after intense public pressure did Reno present LaFleur's case to a grand jury.

Willie Jones, then a Florida Highway patrolman, sexually molested an eleven-year-old black girl in the back seat of his squad car in 1979. Records obtained from the circuit court of the eleventh judicial circuit for Dade County, dated April 4, 1979, reveal a shocking pattern of collusion between the County Prosecutor's office and Jones' attorney. In this case, Assistant State Attorney David Rothman and Terrence J. McWilliams, attorney for the defendant, concurred that Jones should be granted probation and should seek psychiatric aid on an outpatient basis. The circuit judge withdrew himself from the case in protest of this "sweetheart deal." Through-

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out the proceedings, inadequate note was taken of the condition of the black girl, who still remains under intense psychiatric care.

On September 2, 1979, 21-year-old Randy Heath was shot by an off-duty Hialeah police officer, Larry Shockley. The young black man was urinating outside a warehouse building when Shockley placed a cocked revolver against his skull. The gun discharged "accidentally," killing Heath. Hialeah police first attempted to make this shooting look like an unsuccessful burglary attempt.

Over two months lapsed before the County Prosecutor's office scheduled an inquest into the shooting. That April, the grand jury found Shockley innocent. Inexplicably, in mid-May the same grand jury called for Shockley's discharge from the police force. The black newspaper Miami Times editorialized only three days before the rebellion, "This is little comfort to the Heath family and to the black community...Another black man has been killed by a white policeman and not a damn thing has been done about it."

When this past history of miscarriages of justice was combined with the outrage over the McDuffie case, all illusions of justice were smashed. The rebellion was an act of hopelessness and courage, of desperation and defiance, of resentment and commitment to change. Nothing less than the total reconstruction of the social order, from the bottom up, will ever restore the confidence of the black people of Miami. If it comes, the fire next time undoubtedly will be greater.

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The Anti-Racism Commission of New American Movement was formed in 1977 to strengthen and evaluate the anti-racist work in NAM and to provide a focal point for education in and outside NAM on the fight against racism.

The Anti-Racism Bulletin is published twice yearly (winter and summer). The Bulletin seeks to 1) provide news on anti-racist work that NAM members and chapters are involved in, and 2) offer analysis of some of the key issues or developments in the fight against racism.

Comments and criticism are welcome and will be published where space permits.

NAM members and contributors are urged to send in reports on chapter work and analysis of major issues or developments in the anti-racist struggle. Reports should be 100-300 words. Analysis should be no more than 2-3 pages double-spaced. Without copy from our members and friends, the Bulletin will not be effective.

Financial contributions are greatly needed. Make checks to: NAM Anti-Racism Commission, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago Ill 60657. Subs - \$4/yr (includes postage). Send copy and letters to editor: Glenn Scott, 4413 Rosedale, Austin TX 78756.